1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never
262 eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

Eggs. These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

262 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may
●234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to

MAP 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol [1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

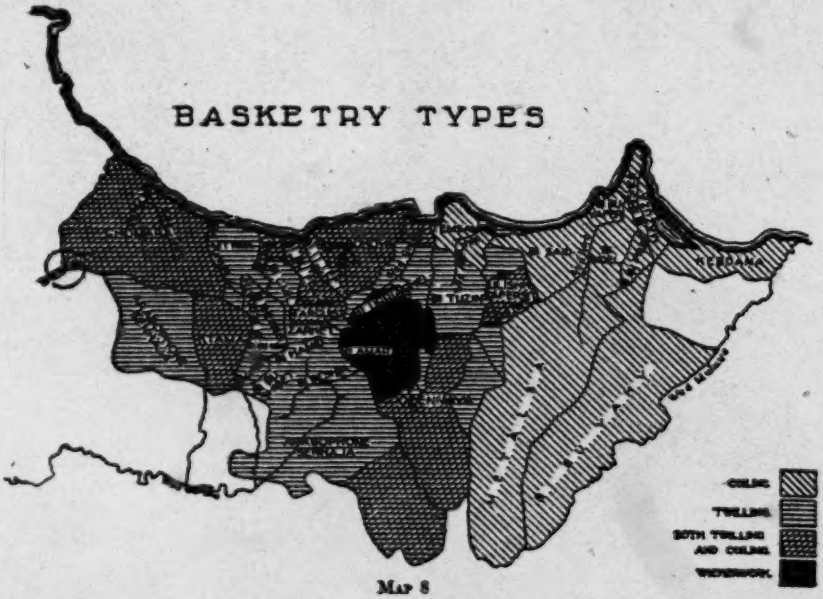
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

415 for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for [234] butter.

BASKETRY

285 There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and 415 wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *azref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with [314] palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



Map 8

tubbuk, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestasa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gsennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Azib of Meidhar, Tafersit, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *shwari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, [314] also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[1]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[2] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[3] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[1] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[3] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.